231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when [262] a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from *"onzas"* (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

Roosters are raised for cock fighting. How- [541] ever, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

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533 also play for some civic events, such as the installation of new officers, for which they receive no pay.

In addition to the organized bands, there are smaller and less well organized groups of musicians, mainly performers on stringed instruments such as violin, violincello, bass fiddle, and guitar, although a clarinetist may be included. Such groups meet and play together at one another's houses for their own pleasure. At times, however, they may be hired for *mayordomías* or household fiestas, especially if the sponsor cannot afford a full band. Such groups may also be asked to play at some public function. In 1940 one such group was asked by the mayor to play in the school in connection with the final oral examinations and closing exercises.

WITCHCRAFT

754 For many miles around, Cherán has the reputation of being the outstanding center for witchcraft among the Tarascans. As is often the case, however, it was extremely difficult to secure any information about witchcraft in the town. Enough was secured, however, and enough significant evasions encountered, to make it likely that the reputation is deserved. Even by the informants and assistants on the study, concealment was practiced, and at the very end of the study some data were obtained virtually by accident from Agustín, our United States born helper, which he obviously told with great reluctance.

Witches, sʌkuájpiri, are believed always to be women. In general, the name of witch is applied to all "women of the street," that is, women who live without men. Generally, these are either aged women without relatives or women, usually widows, who are believed to be prostitutes. No one would dare do anything against such women. Although these women may live in any part of the town, there is evidence that they are believed to live more in *barrio* I on the slopes of Santiákujákua, the hill on the northwest corner of the town. This hill is said to be full of witches and to be a very dangerous spot to go to at night. Passing along one of the uppermost streets on the hill one day, we were asked for a coin by an old woman. Agustín R. refused to let me give a coin and

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754 hurried us away, obviously much shaken by the experience and firmly convinced the woman was a witch.

Despite the fact that several persons stated all witches are women, a story was collected that witchcraft was started in Cherán by a man who found a book. Most power, though, is said to be obtained by a witch who goes alone to the summit of Kukundikáta, a volcanic cone a mile or two southeast of town and about a thousand feet in height. Here the witch calls the devil, "Sir devil, I ask a favor." A strong wind is felt or the sound of a strong wind is heard and the devil appears before the petitioner. The would-be witch then makes a contract for 20 years, at the end of which time he loses his life. In the meantime the witch may teach others, however, who do not have a contract unless the witch makes a subsidiary agreement with them. In any case they are not as powerful as the witch who secures power directly from the devil. (Note again in this account the implication that the witches are male.)

Witches operate in several ways. The most common is to secure some very personal object, a comb, piece of hair, piece of clothing, or even sweat from a coin (which is why Agustín refused to let me give a coin, as mentioned above). A doll of wax or clay is made to resemble the person and dressed in similar clothes. The article obtained is used in making or clothing the doll. If hair of the victim has been obtained, for example, it is placed on the head of the doll. Pins are then stuck in the joints and, if it is desired to kill the victim, in each temple. The doll is then taken to one of several places, things are recited in Tarascan, candles are burned, and each time the pins are pushed in a little farther.

The places visited are a spot in the *barranca* separating Parícutin from the other *barrios* or two caves on the slope of Kukundikáta. It was undesirable to attempt to locate the spot in the *barranca*, but the two caves were visited. Neither showed signs of much use. In one candles had evidently been burned. The second had been visited fairly recently. Far in the back of the cave a small trench crossed the steeply sloping floor and the rocks about it had been well swept. In a corner were twigs from

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754 an oak tree and at one side two crossed branches of oak. A cigarette butt and some fragments of pitch pine, apparently dropped casually, were the only other evidence of use.

It was reported that a good deal of witchcraft had been stamped out and that the municipal government, acting on orders from Morelia, had posted two armed guards at night in the *barranca* and one on Kukundikáta with orders to shoot to kill anyone they found practicing witchcraft. It is necessary to kill the witch, because if the witch escapes the magic will turn against the person interfering. Any attempt at verification of this report from the municipal officials met with such skillful evasive action that there may be a modicum of truth in it.

Another way of bewitching is to carry objects at night to the house of the victim. Bones of dead persons were mentioned as one of the objects. Pedro Chávez had also seen a candle with many holes in it and cut in many places which was hidden close to the house of an intended victim. Candles are used because they are associated with the dead. Earth from the floor of the jail is also very useful in such matters, and certain flowers may also be deposited.

One of the ways of leaving things or of obtaining a personal object is for the witch to change into some animal. Witches may change into cats, owls, dogs, roosters, or burros. In this guise they may hide something by the house of the victim or may steal some personal object. If a strange cat, or even a neighbor's cat which has never come around before, should come into the kitchen and play and try to snatch personal things it is probably a witch in disguise. If such a cat is caught by the tail and held in the smoke of an oak fire it will soon talk and answer any question asked, such as the name of the witch, the person sending the witch, and so on. A friend of Agustín R. caught a witch cat in this way. He threatened to kill it if he saw it again. When he released the animal, it simply vanished.

The animals may also talk softly to the victim at night. A woman heard a voice outside saying, "Sleep, *Doña* ———, sleep." She went to a good witch and after a period of treatment was not bothered again. Owls will get in trees

754 outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

754 Little is known about curing techniques. In
755 the account secured, the good witch goes into an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

754 In all probability an important reason for the
[167] departure of the Rangel family from Cherán for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

754 magic would have worked against him. He was said not to have been bothered after this, but he warned Agustín in our presence against giving a coin to a stranger who seemed very friendly, as he might merely be wishing for sweat to bewitch him.

The reason Agustín's father could deal with witches so effectively was that he had been immunized against witches. A friendly witch had wrapped him from head to foot in string soaked in snake oil and other things. He wore the string for 2 days and then was told not to bathe for another week. Agustín knew no other details, but shortly before the study closed he admitted that immediately after his arrival in Cherán the family had hired a witch to immunize him. Beyond stating that it was only a temporary and simple immunization, Agustín would give no further details. Ultimately, it was intended that he have the more complete treatment.

The fact that the Rangel family left Cherán after the alleged bewitchment mentioned above and had the son immunized immediately after their return lends support to the belief that the family left town because of witchcraft.

754 157 621 Data are too scanty to form any reliable hypothesis about the effects of witchcraft in Cherán. Nevertheless, an attractive theory might be developed that witchcraft accounts for some of the personality traits in Cherán and more particularly for the prevalence of walled yards and the general unwillingness to invite strangers or little-known persons inside the yard gate. It should not be overlooked, though, that the exclusive character of the Cherán family or household grouping may also be accounted for in terms of the more urban character of the settlement.

754 Two other items should be added to this discussion. It was reported that some witches had a white powder which they threw into people's faces. The powder instantly disappears inside and the persons become ill. Good witches may cure this sickness.

791 Although not considered witches, there are women who tell fortunes with cards. One woman in *barrio* III is said to be able to tell where lost cattle are and, if they have been stolen, who the thief is.

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WITCHCRAFT IN CAPACUARO

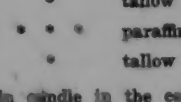
754 As is often the case, more specific details of witchcraft were secured in Capacuaro, which has no reputation for witchcraft, than in Cherán. In the course of a brief stay in Capacuaro, Rendón and Carrasco made the acquaintance of a delightful couple who openly admitted to being witches. The remaining members of the staff subsequently became fairly well acquainted with the couple. Their witchcraft seemed, on the whole, a relatively harmless and unmalicious variety, which may account for their willingness to admit to the practice. Perhaps the most entertaining incident was when the wife told Rendón under promise of secrecy that she had secured her husband through witchcraft and had been able to keep him only through the same means. The husband told Carrasco the same story about his wife!

754 832

The following are details, mostly collected by Rendón:

1. Method of winning the love of someone; of making a wife return to her husband; or of making a husband return to his wife; or causing someone who is impassioned without hope to obtain what he desires:

Secure five candles costing 5 centavos, three of paraffin and two of tallow. The practitioner must shut himself in a room without anyone seeing him, but if he has asked a witch to do the ceremony for him, he must be present. The candles are arranged in the following form:



The paraffin candle in the center is known as the "Candle of the Heart." The candles must be in the center of the room and oriented to the cardinal directions.

Placing of the candles begins with the lower tallow candle. First the candle is turned between the fingers in a certain way, saying "so and so, come, come, come, come, come . . . " many times. Upon saying this the necessary number of times depends much of the success of the ceremony, but there are no rules; the witch simply feels when it has been enough. The candle is then lighted and put in position. The same is done with the other candles, but the order could not be given unless the investigator had hired the ceremony performed with serious purpose.

The center candle, the "Candle of the heart," is previously softened by exposure to the sunlight. Two fingers are then measured on the candle from the base

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754 832 "for your guardian angel, two fingers for the Holy Spirit, and one finger for your name." At the point reached by the five fingers measurement, the candle is opened and a flower called the "flower of thought" is placed inside, and the wax is replaced carefully as though the candle had not been opened.

The center candle is now lighted at the butt end and placed in position upside down. Great care must be exercised, however, not to permit the candle to burn past the point where the flower is located. If it did, the bewitched person would die and the person performing the incantation would go to the inferno and suffer throughout eternity.

This ceremony may be performed in any position of the moon and by either day or night. Nevertheless, Wednesday is the best day, and night is the best time. The indispensable prerequisite is that no one see the ceremony except the person on whose behalf it is performed. Any other person, even though equally interested in the success of the procedure, would interfere with the result, while a hostile person who knew, could intercept the "labor" and even do injury to the witch.

Despite this prohibition in ordinary cases, there are some circumstances in which several witches or women "initiated in remedies," even though they did not know how to officiate, might perform this ceremony together. The informant, however, refused to tell how the ceremony was performed in this case or the object of the ceremony.

After the ceremony has been performed, the subject is observed for several days or a week. If no improvement in attitude is noticeable, the bewitchment continues in the following form:

Candles are burned again as described above. In addition, the witch procures a meter of black belting material, a small stamp of Saint Judas, a bit of red paper, "flowers of thought," dahlias or other red flowers, and a collection of as many kinds of flowers as can be found. The Saint Judas is wrapped carefully and thoroughly in the black belt. The bundle is then wrapped in the red paper and laid on a cross made of the miscellaneous flowers at the "head" of the candles with the saint's face down. On the bundle is placed the red flower and the "flowers of thought." Then the witch says, "Saint Judas, bring me so and so, for I have you there prisoner and if you do not hurry I will burn you." A "prayer" is then said in Tarascan which the informant refused to divulge. The witch remains in a kneeling position and recites seven credos until the "Candle of the Heart" reaches the point past which it must not burn. (In order to have the candles burn an equal amount, it is necessary to put out the others when they reach the same level.)

754 2. To make someone hate another person; to make a husband leave his wife or a wife leave her husband; to make children desert their parents or parents abandon their children; to make a person feel repulsion for others:

754 The witch or the person who wishes to accomplish the result secures excrement of the person who is to be hated. The excrement is dried in the sun from 12 until 3, being careful not to expose it at other hours. When dry, the excrement is ground to a powder. Each day at sundown a little of the powder is burned and clothing of the person who is to hate the other is passed through the smoke. Thus a witch who wished another [832] woman's husband secured some of the woman's excrement and passed a pair of trousers and shirt of the man through the smoke. The very next day the man left his wife and came to live with the witch (and is now her husband). The deserted wife immediately went with another man and her first husband "danced with pleasure."

3. To make mischief so that something goes badly with a person—so that his animals will die, so his harvest will fail, so he will fall in jail, so he and all his family will weaken and catch diseases:

Take about a quarter-liter bottle of alcohol. Mix this with earth taken from a spot where there was a quarrel to the death, or where someone had an accident and died, or where there is a burial of a person who did not die in Christian fashion, or from the illegal grave of some recently born child whose parents did not notify the authorities and buried it surreptitiously. If no serious injury is to be caused it will be sufficient to take earth where there has been a quarrel and bloodshed, even though there was no death. This earth, after mixing with alcohol, is allowed to dry thoroughly and is kept in a bottle until it is needed. When the opportunity offers, a little of the earth is sprinkled on the back of the person it is desired to injure, at the same time saying in one's mind the kind of injury one wishes will occur.

4. To cause suppurating sores on the genitals of a person one hates:

Buy oil for lamps and let it burn several days before a holy image. Take what is left and mix it with a bit of earth recently stepped on by the person it is desired to injure, or put in the oil something of the victim, such as hair, fingernails, or some piece of used clothing, and burn the oil, saying "So and so, you must have sores on such and such a part of the body." In addition, if the person is a man, he must be given a glass of *aguardiente* in which an herb from the hot country has infused a number of days; and if the person is a woman, a *gorda* made from maize dough or nixtamal in which the same herb is mixed. (The informant refused to name the herb, claiming she identified it only by sight when the herb sellers came around.)

754 5. So that a man or woman will "become
832 tame" and do what one wishes, including making a husband permit his wife sexual relations with another man or a wife permit her husband

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754 832 sexual relations with another woman, and, in addition, aiding the adulterers to meet:

Buy a new small pottery vessel (*olita*); it is best to buy it direct from the kiln to make sure it has not been used for anything else. Fill the vessel with holy water, first fastening a new 20 centavo piece to the bottom, inside, with campeche wax. Into the water put a large paraffin candle which has been cut into many small pieces. Each piece represents part of the strength (*fuerza*) of the individual while the holy water signifies that the strength is broken. In order that the results will be "good," put in a piece of cane from the mountains known as *otate del leon* and a very resinous splinter of pitch pine. Then cover the top of the vessel with a thick cap of campeche wax so that no air may enter. The vessel is then buried beneath the spot where the person to be bewitched sleeps, if this person is a spouse. If not, the vessel is buried in the patio of the house of the person.

6. To make a man lose his sexual vigor so that he will recover it only with the woman who has had the magic done:

[824] The witch must first seek a small grass known as *pito de toro* and place it in *aguardiente* to infuse. The man should drink a little of this *aguardiente* every day for 8 days. If he is not a drinking man, then it must be given in coffee or atole or in some other manner so that he will not be aware that he is being given something. After 8 days the woman spies on the man until he goes to urinate, when she must recover a bit of the moist earth or, if he has not urinated on the earth, place earth in the receptacle. The urine-moistened earth is placed inside a *chile ancho* of the largest size it is possible to secure. The *chile* is then sewed up with needle and thread so none of the earth can escape and placed below the spot where the man sleeps with someone, or, if he is unmarried, it is buried in his patio as close as possible to the place where he sleeps. With this, the man remains incapacitated from having sexual relations with any woman except the one who has performed the rite.

754 7. To make a person suffer so that he will be sad and feel sick, although it will be imagination and not in reality; so that he will feel he is going to die; so that everything is revolting; and so that he will be unable to find tranquillity at any moment because it will seem something is about to happen:

Make a small doll resembling the human figure out of campeche wax and clothing used by the person. It is important that the clothing used should not have been washed, but be soiled from wearing. When the doll is made, stick pins in it all along the part of the spinal column, one in the crown of the head, two in the temples, two in the throat on each side, two in the nape of the neck, two in the umbilicus, and seven on the

754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 In addition to the above methods of bewitch-
892 ment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 Methods of prevention and cure against
751 witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured
755 by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

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754 refused to tell some part; probably omissions were made in the others as well. It is also clear that with almost no exception, the witchcraft is wholly European in origin. This is true of both the data from Cherán and from Capacuaro. Despite the fragmentary data from Cherán, a number of correspondences with the Capacuaro data are evident. For example, Agustín mentioned only snake oil for the immunization to witchcraft, Capacuaro data show snake oil as well as other items. While the data are too [831] scanty to afford generalizations, erotic interests and anxieties are suggested much more strongly by the Capacuaro witchcraft data than by data secured from any other source.

In Mestizo Chilchota exists belief in witches [763] disguised as owls. The owls call for the death of their victim, and death takes the call of the owl as a signal. Such owls cannot be killed by bullets or rocks, which simply pass through the bird without making it even change its place. The only manner in which such an owl may be driven away is for a woman not wearing underwear to throw her skirts over her head in front of it; at this the owl flees and never returns to the house.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

776 Relatively few superstitions and beliefs in
151 the supernatural outside of the various aspects of Christianity and witchcraft were encountered in Cherán. Most common, apparently, is the belief in the miríŋgua, a malevolent spirit which, according to some, lives in the *barrio* of Parícutin. At night, in the fields, woods, or in the town itself, a person will think he is going a certain way and will recognize various places, and then, if the experience is a mild one, he finds suddenly that he is in some place quite different. Or the person may be carried off by the miríŋgua. The most common place about town for the miríŋgua to ambush its victims is in the *barranca* between Parícutin and the rest of the town.

One young man of 25 years recounted his experience to Rendón as follows: One dusk he was returning from the fields to his house and thought he was following the proper road but he felt very unusual (in a manner he was unable to explain because of his faulty Spanish). Finally he felt that someone pulled on him

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608 861 The godfather is supposed to supervise the growing up of the child. He should see that his godchild "grows straight like a tree" and is properly trained and clothed, and he should make presents of clothing from time to time and remedy any deficiencies in the parents. Should the parents die, the godfather is responsible for rearing the child.

553 574 The name is usually selected by the parents. There are four ways of naming a child: using the name of the saint on whose day the child was born; the name of some distinguished person; a name selected by the godfather; the name of some relative, such as the grandparent or sibling of the parents. In the case of persons named for San Juan, San José, San Pedro, San Pablo, or San Francisco there are special observances in connection with their name day throughout the rest of their lives. Early in the morning, people visit persons of these names on their name day; often they will be strangers, for it suffices if one member of the party knows the person. The guests merely say "Good-morning" to the person visited and then are given *posole*. They may then stay around and talk a bit or may leave immediately, merely saying "Thank you" in the ordinary way. Sometimes the band starts at midnight, going around to various persons' houses and playing. In some cases the band members appear to be paid and to come by invitation, but in others they seem merely to be following the usual custom.

Persons with other names are also expected to show hospitality on their name day. When one of the schoolmasters, who is a native of the town but is stingy and not well liked, celebrated his name day, the town officials thought it would be a good joke to invite themselves to his house for dinner and did so. Meeting members of the staff of the study on the street, the mayor and secretary promptly invited them along. As the invitation was not seconded by [123] the rather surly school teacher, who showed considerable signs of distress already, the invitation was not accepted.

751 754 854 Infants are subject to a number of diseases, but there are few special treatments for them. Only the evil eye must be guarded against especially, for it is usually fatal for infants of a year or less. This illness is especially in-

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751 sidious as it is usually caused inadvertently,
754 that is, the person with power to cause the evil
854 eye does not know it and is apt especially to cause it to attack a child that is particularly liked or admired by the person. As a preventive a "deer eye" is hung from the neck or wrist, or a little sack filled with cooked black chile, lime, and salt is suspended from the neck. Additional data are given under sickness and curing.

553 In La Cañada the infant's name is said to be
608 chosen at a council of the adult relatives who
851 pick a name from among the deceased relatives, never the saint's day, as is the case among the Mestizos at Chilchota. Neither does the godfather ever choose a name. The godmother presents the parents with a basket of bread, a package of chocolate, 30 centavos of soap, and 1 or 2 kilos of sugar. The other items may vary, but bread and chocolate must be included in the gifts. The parents of the child give the godparents a meal. A year or less after the baptism the godfather takes musicians to the child's house and presents the infant with some clothing. With invited relatives and friends, the godfather holds a day of fiesta. The parents provide atole, *aguardiente*, nacatamales or tamales made with flour. It is to be noted that here the emphasis in choosing godparents is on selecting the proper godmother and that the godfather's personality is of less importance.

853 At Huánsito in La Cañada, infants are fed atole, bread or tortillas, bean broth, cooked rice, and similar bland foods, beginning when they are less than a year old. Older children are fed whenever they are hungry and may eat numerous times during the day. Normally a child of 6 years will eat bread or tortillas and black coffee or cinnamon tea in the morning. At 10 o'clock in the morning he will eat tortillas, čurípo, and perhaps beans with the elders. In the middle of the day he will eat tortillas and some other item (the adults will not eat at this time). In the evening about 6 o'clock will be the main meal, perhaps broiled or fried meat, broth, and beans with tortillas.

553 At Ichán in La Cañada, Rendón noted the practice of children taking the baptismal name of their fathers as their surname. For example, the son of Diego is known as Juan Diego,

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753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness
2 78 which are quite generalized, that is, they may be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nurite, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe*, and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

753 Of considerable interest is a class of diseases
754 and ailments which seem to be of supernatural causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was
755 something attacking only drunkards and persons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

753 slightly broiled, on which is sprinkled a little salt. The patient's mouth is opened and the
755 tomato is pressed upward against the soft palate while with the left hand the curer pushes down on the crown of the patient's head. After doing this for some minutes, the tomato is removed from the finger, opened, and rubbed on the crown of the patient's head, on the wrists, and on the joints of the arms. Following this, the patient's head is massaged with gentle pressure, with special attention to the face, the cheek bones, forehead, temples, and occiput. This is called "raising the crown of the head." The treatment is given to both adults and children.

Few data were secured on "wind" or "air." People with the sickness are sometimes said to have been "taken by the wind." In some cases "air" attacks the stomach; some data on treatment have been given above.

754 The "evil eye" is a very dangerous matter because it attacks mainly small children who
753 are often unable to resist the sickness. Moreover, the power of the evil eye may be possessed by anyone without the knowledge of the possessor. Most commonly persons with the power of the evil eye will afflict individuals of whom they are especially fond. Children who are very pretty or clean and with neatly combed hair are particularly subject to the evil eye. When two persons desire very much to see each other and cannot do so, one is apt to afflict the other with the evil eye; for example, lovers who wish very much to see each other. The evil eye is always believed to be caused unconsciously and without malice.

Symptoms of the evil eye among children are weakness, pale or yellowish complexion, and a tendency to cry a great deal. Adults feel disconsolate; are unable to sleep or, when they do sleep, dream constantly of the person causing the disease, dream someone is calling or talking; or while awake, they think constantly of the person causing the sickness, with feelings of sorrow and pain. In either case, if a cure is not effected, the person dies with vomiting and fever.

755 In order to cure infants of the evil eye, mothers take their children to a street intersection. All passersby are asked to "clean" the child with their clothing. As everyone knows

755 *zorilla* (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

164 The majority of Capacuaro residents have goiter. This is said often to result from drinking from a spring of bad water. The spring is said to be bad because many humming birds drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

754 The power of the evil eye belongs only to certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

755 The following remedies are reported by Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.
2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.
3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).
4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, i. e., those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 177 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater acculturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has [241] a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are lighted to them. There are also a number of [821] [824] tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and [754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although [177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

773 he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave
775 him because of his prayers, or else will be
776 unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɛʌkurin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

825 This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the
776 owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

●754 Other than those of wealth, most pacts
776 with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witchcraft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

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775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.

Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to
775 so that they will kill one's enemy. This takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

128 An outline of Tarascan folklore and main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

821 Harmful natural elements are consid-
776 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The
[823] volcano was made by the Devil, as something bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

183 The material which is of more interest to our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

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183 another woman, lending one's wife, marriage between brother and sister, killing a brother or a son, failure to become *compadres* according to custom, not taking good care of children—such are the sins against the family.

Witchcraft is learned from the Devil by 754 selling him one's own soul or even one's children's. Consequently, witches are doomed to hell and all their activities are definitely evil; they make people sicken and die, they ask for the help of the devils, and they deal sacrilegiously with the church.

183 (*b*) Behavior against special interests or groups, which is considered evil in Tarascan folklore, can be arranged under two main headings: (1) that relating to money and property; and (2) that relating to the Church and organized religion.

(1) All the evil associations of money come out very clearly in the very common theme of the man who sells his soul to the Devil, money being the main cause for his doing so. The same moral is found in other stories: In a number of tales, a poor girl's marriage to a rich man leads only to her damnation. The cupidity of the people of San Juan Parangaricutiro in connection with the pilgrims to their fiesta leads to their destruction by the volcano of Paricutin. The priest who wants to keep the money a boy found and took to him to be blessed is turned into stone. Those who do not fulfill promises regarding inheritance find their failure to do so an impediment to entering heaven.

The bad association of money is thus clearly established. Poverty, work (richness and idleness go together in Tarascan world view), and resignation are the good qualities opposed to those associated with money. "If you marry a rich man, you will not love God; you better marry a poor man and think always of God." Marrying a rich man "you profit only for a while and then you have to pay for it in the other world." For the rich, it is good to give away property. Beggars will speak favorably to God. In the story of the rich man who gave corn to the poor in times of scarcity, God rewards him by making him the spirit of rain.

This censure of wealth and praise of poverty, however, form but one aspect of the attitude towards property. Certain tales clearly stress, on the contrary, the rightness of property, and damnation is brought to whoever dares attack it. In one

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771 is seen not only in their behavior but also in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditionalist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics oppose this idea. They say it is only custom, an unnecessary expenditure of money, not required to be a good Catholic, and they are supported by the priest. When discussing this point, Manuel has a ready argument: "Do you have cargos in Mexico City? You don't have them there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the supernatural are usually believed, and sometimes even wonder stories, but the attitude of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japingua* to operate", i. e., compacts with the Devil.

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● 754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of
778 witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
538 behind the Church to make a compact with the Devil and learn their art. The present lack of witches is attributed to the fact that the entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope
539 condemned them together with other devils to go back to hell; and they have not been seen thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms
539 over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
783 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunderstorm destroyed the cave. They said many people were seen leaving the mountain; they